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II. A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY INTO THE ORIGIN AND STATUS OF THE KAYASTHAS.

By

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Scholars have expressed divergent [1] opinions on the origin of the Kāyasthas, which has been a controversial subject for more than three quarters of a century. In some parts of the country, that is to say, in the Eastern [2] and Southern [3] India, the Paṇḍits had the belief, that the Kali Age admits of only two *varṇas* or broad divisions of the Hindū Society, viz. the Brāhmaṇa and the S'ūdra, ingrained in their minds since a long time. Accordingly they thought all the Kāyasthas, who, as a class, were neither priests nor donees of religious gifts, to belong to a caste topping the list of all the non-Brāhmaṇa, i. e, the S'ūdra castes, Ksatriyas and Vais'yas having become extinct in the Kali Age, according to their view. However, the Kayasthas of various climes, in different ages, in spite of expressing their respect for the 'gods of the earth' as a token of their personal meekness and self-denial, [4] as also many Brāhmaṇas have been very often doing, were regarded, by the latter, to be of a very noble extraction and, always believed themselves to be the cream of the society, [5] and, as such, accepted, as time

rolled on, different traditions pointing to their superior origin, not minding what others said or wrote against them.

In the last century, when a 'Digest' was prepared in order to govern the Indian population according to the laws of the country, this question took a different turn. Cases in which the illegitimate issues of Kāyasthas, in view of the laws for S'ūdras, wished to have the right of inheritance legalized in their own favour against the established custom, gave rise to the necessity of ascertaining the exact *varṇa* of Kāyasthas. Some Paṇḍits [6] wrote that, in spite of their traditions of pure twice-born origin, the Kāyasthas of modern times should, for certain reasons, be considered practically to be S'ūdras or a mixed caste. While other Paṇḍits, and among them those of Poona, [7] Bengal, [8] Benares, [9] Jammū-Kas'mīra, [10] etc, [11] who were considered to be the authority on such and other subjects of socio-religious character, were approached for giving their *Vyavasthās* (decisions) about the social position of the Kāyasthas to help them in law-courts. This class of Paṇḍits dubbed all the Kāyasthas of noble extraction Ksatriyas [12] or sub-Ksatriyas. [13] Consequently, in common parlance of the present century, the term *Kāyastha* has begun to bear the connotation of *one particular caste* including a number of sub-castes believed to be homogeneous in the point not only of calling or culture but also of social position, in the fourfold division of the Hindū Society, based on

the newly promulgated theories of their common or similar origin supposed to have taken place in the primitive age.

In the following pages I will conclusively prove that all these opinions, popular beliefs, or decisions of Paṇḍits, are based on the ignorance of facts and not on any scientific investigation. *Kāyasthas*, according to the results of my persistent study of this subject for the last twenty years, *have never formed one caste, nor have they sprung from any one common ancestor or from more ancestors of one and the same caste*; and even the *ethnic sense* associated to the word Kāyastha, separately or in conjunction with what are nowadays known as the sub-divisions of the socalled Kāyastha caste, has a *very late* beginning in the history of the social organizations. The views [14] expressed by Stein, Bābū Rākhāl Dās Banerji, Dr. Benī Prasād and M. M. Paṇḍit G. H. Ojhā, represent the truth to a great length; and I will show wherein their deficiency lies, when I have discussed the problem through.

Now I proceed to examine the evidence which settles the question as to who and what these Kāyasthas were in Ancient India. It will be well to begin with the times of Ksemendra and Kalhaṇa and from that meridian to make a survey of the nature and position of this class of people in Indian History before and after these authors.

Part I.—THE KĀYASTHAS OF KAS'MIRA.

A—THE KĀYASTHAS IN KSEMENDRA'S WORKS.

Ksemendra *alias* Vyāsadāsa, who was one of the greatest writers on different topics, and a contemporary, rather protégé, of King Ananta (1028-1063 A. C.) of Kas'mīra, uses the word *Kāyastha* [15] as a *synonym* [16] *for Divira*, [17] *Niyogin*, [18] *etc.*, [19] i. e., for various state officials, but nowhere in the ethnic sence [20] as is understood to be conveyed by it now-a-days. Kāyasthas have generally found a mention in his poems teeming with his sarcastic propensity. But I am inclined to believe that he was perhaps always thinking very seriously of the *vices* of the official class *(Kāyasthas)*. This is why he describes them always in that light and sometimes even in a context where the relevancy of such a topic appears to be but forced (*e. g.* in verse 822 of Canto VIII—S'rī Kṛṣṇāvatāra—in his Das'āvatāra-carita). [21]

The editor of the Narma-mālā, Pt. Madhusūdana Kaula Shastrī, in his introduction to this book, (Kashmir Series, No. 40), writes as follows :—

(p. 10.) "The Narma-mālā gives the tragical account of a Kāyastha or a clerk and outlines, indirectly, a low tone of moral discipline possessed during his time, by the majority of people.

(P. 11.) "Among the state officials and officers, there seem to be most prominent in order of administration, (a) the Gṛiha-Kṛityādhipati, (b) the Paripālaka, (c) the Niyogī. Other officials are, in

some way or the other, subordinate to the above and work either as treasurers, judicial readers, road-inspectors cr as messengers.

"All of them, i. e. the Kāyasthas .....S'aiva-cult.

(P. 12.) "The Kāyasthas' highest ambition is to occupy the port-folio of the Gṛihakṛityādhipati or Gṛihakṛitya-mahattama who, it seems, was the head of the Home Department and controlled both civil and military offices as also the Department of the Dharmārtha. [22] Seven executive officers work under him in this capacity and there are eight orderlies to attend on him..... He is allowed the prerogative of having officers under him of his own choice (1).

"The next officer after him is the Paripālaka, or the governor of a province (2).

(P. 13) "Paripālaka's clerk-in-chief is called Lekhakopādhyāya..... He is in charge of the confidential office record..... He is also a thorough accountant who can balance the account in a trice (3).

(P. 14) "The superintendent of finance, or the Gañja-Divira, who has control also over the treasury is another important Kāyastha officer who produces a sheet of expenditure and receipts before his master, Paripālaka.....He is a strong advocate of retrenchment policy (4).

"Kāyastha appears as a Niyogī also. His function, as such, is supervising the villages, and the Paraganas checking their accounts and inspecting roads etc. He is an executive officer with

first class magisterial powers to decide the civil and criminal cases just like a Tahsīldār of to-day (5).

(P. 16) "The Niyogī has power to appoint or to dismiss the Paṭwārīs (Grāma-divira) (6).

"Mention is made of the Āsthāna Diviras or the clreks in the court (7).

(P. 18) "……letter to him (i. e. Niyogī) from his Assistant: 'On the plea……This is all. Jeṭh Sunday.' The Niyogī reads the above letter and praises the active and industrious habits of his Assistant (8)".

These remarks give a generally fair idea of the position and function of various officers and officials (known as *Kāyasthas*, or *Diviras* or *Niyogins*, or *Adhikārins*) in medæval state. They may, however, be supplemented by the following lines:—

Divira [23] seems to have been once connected also with temple-properties and other religious endowments as with various other special offices. [24] Similarly, the word *Kāyastha*, which,—as derived from (the root *ci*, to collect, to heap up, + the termination *ghañ* =) *Kāya* [25] (principal, capital, treasury) and *sthā*, to stay,—perhaps originally stood for a small or big officer of the royal treasury, [26] or the revenue department, was indiscriminately used to denote any official. Again, the main function of the *Niyogin* was perhaps that of a revenue-officer or tax-collector. [27] This is why, in spite of using all these words, often and anon, as mere synonyms, both Ksemendra and Kalhaṇa, sometimes use them distinctively. [28]

That besides these, the Prime-Minister *(Sarvādhikārin)*, who must have been the highest of all the state servants, was also meant to be styled as *Kāyastha*, would be clear from the Narma-mālā (I. 6-8) and Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī (VIII. 560). Even so was the Chief-justice included under the term *Kāyastha*, as is apparent from the Kalā-vilāsa (V. 5) and Rājataraṅgiṇī (VII. 1226). The *Paripālaka* was, in fact, more intimately connected with the Temples or Religious Endowments Department. [29] In the Narma-mālā (I. 56), the Paripālaka is expressly called "a *Kāyastha* similar to" the one addressed there (i. e. *Gṛhakṛtya-mahattama)*; and, in case of the *Niyogin* and the Minister for Peace and War *(Sandhi-vigraha-kāyastha)*, [30] the word *Kāyastha* is used as a controvertible or indispensable epithet (Narma-mālā, I. 148, and II. 143 respectively).

In view of the facts that Ksemendra nowhere mentions the *Kāyasthas* as a caste and that this class of people held such high and important posts as are described above, the phrases like "Kāyastha cabinet", "a Kāyastha *or a clerk*", "Kāyastha officers", as used by the learned editor of the Narma-mālā (on p. 10 and 14 of the Introduction), should be considered merely as faulty expressions.

B. THE KĀYASTHAS IN THE WORKS OF KALHAṆA AND OTHERS.

Next in order is Bilhaṇa, the famous author of the Vikramāṅkadeva-carita, who was a con-

temporary of the Kas'mīrian Kings Kalas'a (1063-1089 A. C.) and Harsa (1089-1101 A. C.) and a native of Kas'mīra, and who had become the chief Paṇḍit *(Vidyāpati)* of Parmāḍi, the King of Karṇāṭa (*i. e.*, Vikramāditya-Tribhuvanamalla, the Cālukya, who reigned at Kalyāṇa in 1076-1127 A. C.). [31] He writes about Subhaṭā, the queen of Anantadeva of Kas'mīra (1028-1063 A. C.) in his monumental poem (Canto XVIII, verse 42) as follows :— [32]

"Neither *Kāyasthas* [33] *expert in crooked writings*, nor parasites skilled in subtle flattery, nor bards excelling in open praises, it were allowed to plunder her; fortune, eager, as it were, to expiate her fickleness, went from her hands solely to the houses of Gods and Brāhmaṇas." [34]

Here, too, the *Kāyasthas* are not described as a caste; but are mentioned along with *Viṭas* (parasites) and *Gāyanas* (singers) that were no caste-names. *Gāyana* was the attribute of Kanaka, who, being the younger brother of Caṇpaka, was a Brāhmaṇa and probably an uncle [35] of Kalhaṇa himself, who, is called a *Dvija*, i. e., Brāhmaṇa, in Jonarāja's and Prājyabhaṭṭa's (Second and Fourth) Rājataraṅgiṇīs (verse 5.)

This discussion has now brought us to the times of Kalhaṇa who composed his Rājataraṅgiṇī about 1150 A. C. He uses the word *Kāyastha* [36] no less than *thirty-nine* or *forty* times, and *Kāryastha* [37] at least twice or thrice. The latter

word means 'one in charge of an office' and is an exact synonym for *Karma-sthān-ādhikārin* (VIII. 1482), the same as *Karaṇika* or *Adhikaraṇika* of Sanskrit insctiptions; since *Kārya* [38] is a synonym for *Karma-sthāna* (IV. 352) meaning 'an office', which is the same as *Karaṇa* [39] or *Adhikaraṇa* [40] of the inscriptions.

The word *Kāyastha* (VIII. 87, 89, 90, 107, 110, 113, 114) has its synonyms in *Niyogin* (VIII. 88, 91, 98), *Mahattama* (VIII. 93), *Kāryin* (VIII. 105) and *Adhikṛta* (VIII. 86),— all these words having been used in one and the same context. The last word is mostly met with in the form of *Adhikārin* throughout the Rājataraṅgiṇī and sometimes even as *Adhikāra-stha* (e. g. in VIII. 180). This last form is an exact equivalent of *Kārya-stha*. Bhogasena who had been *Rāja-sthān-ādhikāra-bhāk* or Chief-justice (VIII. 181) was also once *Dvāra-kārya-stha* or lord of the 'Gate' (VIII. 293-94).

Kalhaṇa, sometimes, uses the idiom of the locative case (i. e. 'in' or 'on') to denote a person holding a particular 'office'. Sahela who was only a Brāhmaṇa of ordinary status, *i. e.*, a sharer in the income of the *Samara-swāmi* Temple (VII. 1105 and Stein's note on II. 132), gradually became *Mahattama* (VII. 1106), passing through the post of *Arthanāyaka* (Prefect of property). This same person, again, became *Duārapati* (lord of the Gate), and "कम्पने कार्य-स्थः" (VII. 1319) or, to follow Stein's reading, "कम्पने कार्यस्थः"—(mark the idiom of the locative case)— i. e. the highest officer 'in' army *or* the

Commander-in-chief. He is obviously meant to have been a *Kāyastha* in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (VII. 1169-70, 1319; VIII. 93, 560). Caṇpaka, a *Dvāra-kārya-stha* (VII. 1177) is mentioned along with some *Dvār-ādhikārins* (VII. 1178). The same idiom is used in the expression "खेर्यो वङ्गात्मजं मल्लं हर्षमित्रं च कम्पने" (VIII. 960). Similarly we have it in (VIII. 560) "गौरकाभिधं सर्वाधिकारे कायस्थं विदधे" meaning 'made one named Gauraka the Prime Minister' *(Sarvādhikāre Kāyastham)*. It appears that Stein did not mark this idiom, and hence in his translation (of VII. 1319; VIII. 560), he has misplaced the word *Kāyastha* which ought to be construed with the predicate portion in the sentence.

The upshot of this whole hairsplitting is this that the words *Kāyastha*, *Kāryastha*, *Adhikārin*, *Niyogin*, *etc.* are synonymously used to denote the class of people holding certain offices, that included even those of the Prime Minister, Commander-in-chief, Chief-justice, and other officers of note, in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. This fact taken together with the conclusions deduced from the Naruna-mālā of Ksemendra proves, beyond doubt, that the people described as *Kāyasthas* were, indeed, no mean functionaries to be termed "petty officials *or* clerks" [41] as carelessly generalized by some distinguished authors.

There is not a single passage in the whole of the Rājataraṅgiṇī to prove the existence of any caste named *Kāyastha* in Kalhaṇa's knowledge, at least so far as Kas'mīra is concerned; though the

term was already being used, in association with some of what are now known as the sub-castes of *Kāyasthas*, in other parts of India.

Our author has once used the word 'kula' in the compound *dus-kāyastha-kulasya* (IV. 630); where Stein's rendering "wicked *tribe* of officials" ought not to create any association of an ethnic sense on the readers' mind, since it is not intended by Kalhaṇa, who really means there only "the class of vicious officials." In Sanskrit the particle *dus*, used to give the sense of badness, is always directly compounded with the word immediately following it, which is *Kāyastha* in the present context. As such, it, therefore, cannot qualify the word *'kula.'* Moreover, there is nothing to show that *kula* here means 'family,' as it does in many other passages, where the author has, along with it, invariably used some expression denoting birth (*e. g.*, II. 62; III. 61; V. 206, 480; VII. 434, 975; VIII. 263, 357, 915, 1083, 1102, 1262; etc.). Therefore, apart from the fact that hereditary *Kāyastha* families had already come into existence in other parts of India and that even Kalhaṇa's predecessor, Ksemendra, talks of an imaginary *Kāyastha-kula* in Magadha (Kalāvilāsa, V. 39), it can, from the silence of these and other Kas'mīrian authors, be safely concluded that, as yet, there were absolutely no families in Kas'mīra bearing the hereditary title of *Kāyastha* in order that the ethnic sense should be attached to it. On the contrary, the expressions like *'Kāyastha-putrah,'* *i. e.*, the son of, and not himself, a

Kāyastha (VIII. 664), etc., must be taken to be significant in this respect.

As is quite natural, some officials had their matrimonial relations with others in the same profession and both Ksemendra (Narma-mālā, II. 117, 132) and Kalhaṇa (Rājatar. VIII. 1620, 2043, etc.) speak in favour of the prevalence of such alliances. But examples of marriages among families of dis-similar professions (Rājatar, VIII 561, etc.) were far too numerous. And if Kalhaṇa is not to be disbelieved, there was, at a time, even the royal policy standing in the way of *Kāyasthas* (i. e. officials) making such relations with *Kāyasthas* (officials), as would appear from the following passage in the Rājataraṅgiṇī :—

1. "When the officials *(Kāyasthas)* are closely drawn together by the bonds of inter-marriage..., then a change for the worse in the subjects' fortune may be known for certain (IV. 351-52)." [42]

Stein is probably right when he says [43] that Kalhaṇa is here thinking, in reality, of his own times, when he puts such maxims of state-craft in the mouth of King Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa who preceded him by about four centuries. This, too, shows that even in Kas'mīra of Kalhaṇa's days there were no '*Kāyastha families*' in the strict sense of the expression, much-less a caste of that name.

---

2. The first mention of the word *Kāyastha* in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (III. 489) is made along with the name of Durlabhavardhana [44], the founder

of the Kārkoṭa dynasty of kings. But the expression that he was "an official of the fodder for horses" *(Aś'va-ghāsa-kāyastha)*, precludes all possibility of the association of a caste-sense in the word *Kāyastha* here.

3. Again, if *Kāyastha* were a caste-name, King Candrāpīḍa, a descendant of the above-mentioned *Kāyastha* Durlabhavardhana, should not have been addressed by a Brāhmaṇa woman, whose husband was killed by another Brāhmaṇa, while she was praying the King for justice, in the following words of the poet casting a slur on *Kāyasthas* :—

"No one is of bad character if not the son of a harlot; no one is in continual fear if not guilty; no one is talkative if not a liar; no one is ungrateful if not a *Kāyastha*. (IV. 90)" [45].

4. Again, if *Kāyastha* would have been a caste-name and if King Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, another descendant of the *Kāyastha* Durlabhavardhana, were thinking of himself to have been a member of that caste, there would be hardly any congruity in the following passage which distinguishes Kings quite apart from the *Kāyasthas*, in course of his speech that has been partly quoted above [46] :—

"When the Kings look into the offices as if they were *Kayasthas*, then a change for the worse in the subjects' fortune may be known for certain (IV. 352)."

5. Again, while Gauraka (VIII.560-562), Caṇpaka (VII. 1177), S'ivaratha [47] (VIII. 111, 2156, 2383;

identified with the great-great-grand-father of Jayaratha, the author of the Tantrāloka and Alaṅkāra=sarvasva-Vimars'inī), Sahela (described above at length), Kanaka (VIII. 570) the grandson of Rājakalas'a [48] (VII. 13, 20, 22, 24, 572), and many other *Kāyasthas*, say the majority of the officials, in Kas'mīra, were evidently Brāhmaṇas by caste as is also admitted by scholars like Stein and Dr, Beni Prasad, the low-born Bhadres'vara (VII. 38-41), on the analogy of whose personal history better known to his contemporary, Ksemendra, the latter has perhaps based his description of the mythical origin of the 'Kāyastha', the hero of his sharp satire, the Narmamālā [49] (I. 17-20, 26, 32),— and Saḍḍa (Rājatar., VIII. 258, 263-4) the descendant of a load-carrier named Lavaṭa (V. 177, 205), could not have been called *Kāyasthas* at the same time, if *Kāyastha* would have been the name of any particular caste.

6. Lastly, again, if *Kāyastha* were a caste-name, the ministers, chiefs, *tantrins*, soldiers, King, *ekāṅgas*, etc. (V. 431; VI. 132 and even 13; VIII. 110), that are mentioned in one and the same breath along with *Kāyasthas*, should be taken as so many caste-names. This would be sheerly preposterous.

Thus, we have seen that the *Kayasthas* in Kas'mīra of Kalhaṇa's times were not a separate caste, and, for that reason, although even low-caste people, however seldom, could be so called, majority of them were Brāhmaṇas [50] by caste.

S'rīvara (1459-1486 A. C.), the author of the Third Rājataraṅgiṇī, too, does not use the word *Kāyastha* in any ethnic sense. In one place [51] (III. 6), he tells us that he has composed his book like the utterances of the *Kāyasthas* for the remembrance of those to come. Here by 'the Utterances of *Kāyasthas*' he perhaps means the records that are to be dictated by, or prepared at the initiative of, big officers and preserved in the government offices for the guidance of future potentates and functionaries. In another place [52] (IV. 129), he says that Hassana the *Rājānaka* burnt the houses of Malla, the *Amīna* and Cunda, the *Kāyastha*, in anger. In the first instance he clearly means the record officers *(Akṣapaṭalikas)* and in the second, too, an official of some description which is not detailed by him. Otherwise, if by *Kāyastha*, any caste is to be understood, *Amīna*, too, should be taken as a caste which would be absurd.

Prājyabhaṭṭa, the author of the Fourth Rājataraṅgiṇī who was a contemporary of Akbar the Great, imforms us in his book (verses 71-73) [53] that the '*Kāyasthas*' named Budhaka, As'vīs'a, Samkhyes'a, Jugaka, etc., who were brought [to Kas'mīra] by the royal behest and were the officers *(Adhikārins)* of Siddhādes'a (ready command?), expert knowers of the produce and division of land (i. e. were surveyors) and '*writers by profession*', made three divisions of the land every-where in the dominion and provinces and wrote that one

part is assigned to Fatāh the *Shāh*, the other to Utsa the *Malleka (Mallik ?)*, and the third to S'ṛṅgāra the *Rājānaka*.

From this it would appear that, in Kas'mīra, there was the dearth of officials of the nature as described here, and this is why they were brought from elsewhere, perhaps from Āgrā-Delhī, the seat of the central government. If the word *Kāyastha* is not to be taken here, too, in the ethnic sense, the tautology cannot be avoided.

It is noteworty that the use of the word *Kāyastha* in these chronicles after Kalhaṇa has bebome so rare that any other references to it are not to be found in them. Therefore, it can be concluded that the old class of *Kāyasthas* in Kas'mīra must have ceased to be called by that epithet, rather faded into oblivion, in Akbar's time and afterwords.

The present paper having grown too unwieldy, I have divided it into two parts, and the first part ends here.

In **the second part** of this paper, I will discuss out this problem with reference to other books in Sanskrit litearture, to epigraphical records and to the manuscripts of Sanskrit and Hindī, all throwing a flood of light on its final solution.

Here, however, it may be briefly stated that in the promised evidence there occur the words like S'āsanika-Kāyastha, [54] Mahā-ksāyastha, [55] Prathama-kāyastha, [56] Jyesṭha-kāyastha, [57] Jyesṭhādhikaraṇika, [58] etc. [59] ; the Kāyastha surnames like

Pāṇḍe, [60] Mis'ra, [61] Tiwārī, [61] Dube. [62] Dīksita [63], Des'apaṇḍita, [63] or Desh-pāṇḍe, [63] etc.; the titles of Paṇḍita, [64] Paṇḍitādhīs'vara, [65] Paṇḍita-puṇḍarīka-taraṇi, [66] Vipaksa-vādi-simha *(lit.*, a lion to the speakers of the opposite side, *i. e.*, the vanquisher of disputants in the S'āstrārthas or learned discussions), [67] Ṭhakkura, [68] etc.; and the instances of the Brāhmaṇa [69] *Karaṇikas* (=Kāyasthas or Lekhakas) and Varma [70] (*or*? Ksatriya) *Karaṇikas* (=Kāyasthas or Lekhakas) in consonance with the injunctions of the Dharma- and Artha=S'āstras [71] to the effect that the various posts of state officials and officers or administrators should, mainly and primarily, be allotted to men of the Brāhmaṇa caste, and sometimes to Ksatriyas or Vais'yas in the formers' absence, but never to S'ūdras. [71]

It is, therefore, ultimately concluded that people whose descendants are now known by the name of *Kāyastha* and grouped under several castes and their various sub-castes preserving their purity of blood [72], were *not originally* forming any caste of that name [73] as is generally understood to-day; but were recruited mostly from the Brāhmaṇa [74] and in some cases from the Ksatriya [75] or even the Vais'ya [76] caste or class. In course of time, the application of the term *Kāyastha* [73] passed from individuals to particular families holding the hereditary posts that came under the connotation of that term. Such families as belonged to one and the same caste, Brāhmaṇa, etc., were, by relations of matrimony and food, interlinked into

broader circles limited by geographical areas. These circles took the shape of the new castes [73] passing both as *kulas* and *jātis* of Kāyasthas in the transitional period.

About the close of this period, many Brāhmaṇa families of Pāṇḍes, Mis'ras, Tiwārīs, Dubes, etc., that had, in all probability, the same people for their ancestors as the early forefathers of the modern traditional (*i. e.*, the Kānyakubja, etc.) Brāhmaṇas, but had adopted the hereditary Káyastha profession, were naturally mixed with the older *Brāhmaṇa-Kāyastha* families as is evident from the existence of such surnames among the *Brahma-kāyasthas* in a considerable number. But, later on, further recruitment to this section of the Society of Brāhmaṇas,—amounting to a severance of newcomers from their original stock and tending to multiply the Kāyasthas who were fast adapting themselves, at least in their public life, to the contact and influence of the Mohammadan rule so much despised by the orthodox Brāhmaṇa society,—was discouraged and stopped perhaps also for fear of the latter's dismemberment and degeneracy due to the attractiveness of the at once honourable and lucrative profession of a Kāyastha, as would appear from Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa's *Nirṇayasindhu* [77] (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1906), p. 282. The use of the word *Kāyastha* purely in the sense of a *profession* was all along intelligible, and lingered even so late as the composition of the *S'ūdra-kamalākara* [78] by the self-same author who wrote the *Nirṇayasindhu*.

The words *Kāyastha-kula* and *Kāyastha-jāti* were already in vogue and were often used to definitely denote one or the other particular caste [73] of Kāyasthas (the sense of which was sometimes understood even without its specific mention), such as Naigama, Māthura, S'akasena, etc., *or* even *only a 'class' not ethnically but professionally homogeneous*.. However, long before the period perhaps of the decline of the Mughal Empire towards which the custodians of Hindū Mythology seem to have coined lucid stories about the legendary origin of these Kāyastha castes, *i. e.*, Naigama, etc., from the Divine Kāyastha, Citragupta, [79] the Minister of, or identical with, Dharmarāja of the Purāṇas and the alleged son of Brahmā, the Primeval ancestor of all the Brāhmaṇas,— —apparently on the bases, *firstly*, of the homogeneity of these castes, 12 in number, inasmuch as all of them had emerged from a common stock, *i. e.* the Brāhmaṇa caste, and, *secondly*, of the identity of the function of earthly Kāyasthas with that of the celestial Kāyastha, Citragupta,—the sense of a community of Kāyasthas of a mutually similar origin had already begun to be associated with the word *Kāyastha-jāti.*

Thus, what were heretofore known as the castes, now came to pass as the twelve sub-castes of the Kāyasthas of a common description, that have been known for a long time as the *Brahma-Kāyasthas* [80]. Evidently the initial reason behind this nomenclature was this that they were all

recruited from the body of the Brāhmaṇa caste; but, in the legendary account, they are represented to have descended from Brahmā's son Citragupta (ब्रह्म-काय-स्थ) and the two daughters of the Brāhmaṇa [Rsi] Sus'arma or Dharmas'armā and Sūrya or Manu or S'rāddhadeva. The first attempt to unite these *Brahma-Kāyasthas* or the so-called Citragupta-vams'īya-kāyasthas by means of inter-dinner was that made by Mahārāja Tikait Rāya (S'rīvāstavya), the Prime Minister of Nawāb Asaf-ud-daulah of Lucknow (Avadha) during the last quarter of the 18th century (1786 A. C.)

Besides these, there are many more castes of *Kāyasthas* found in various parts of the land. But, in fact, all the people of the Indian continent coming under the term *Kayastha* have never, in the past or even in the present times, formed *one* caste. *

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Foot Notes

1. (i) "Kayastha, synonymous with Karana, from a Vais'ya, by a woman of the S'udra class. Kayasthas of Bengal, S'udras."——E. B. Cowell: *Miscellaneous Essays by H. T. Colebrooke*, Vol. II,. p. 161.

(ii) "Karana,.....said to have sprung from a S'udra mother and Vais'ya father, or, according to some, from a degraded Ksatriya by a pure Ksatriya female.....*Karanamu*, *Karanam* or *Karnam*, Telegu *Karanīka*.....A village accountant, one of the chief officers of a village: in the Telinga provinces he is usually a Brahman, in the Tamil a S'udra, of th Pilli tribe (p. 263).

"Kāyastha.....caste sprung from a Kshatriya father and a Vais'ya mother, the occupation of which is that of the writer or accountant: it is one of the most respectable of the mixed classes (p. 272)."——H. H. Wilson: *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* (London, 1855).

(iii) "Kayastha, the name of the writer caste, proceeding from a Ksatriya father and a S'udra mother."——Max Müller: *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 514.

(iv) "The Kayasthas themselves affirm that their common ancestor.....was a Brahman, and therefore a lay claim to a high position among Indian castes (p. 305).....The sub-castes are descended, tradition affirms, from one father Chitragupta, and two mothers——one the daughter of Suraj Rishi, the other the daughter of Sus'arma Rishi (p. 308)."——Rev. M. A. Sherring: *Hindu Tribes and Castes as represented in Benares* (1872).

(v) ".....Kayasthas. The great mass of them was undoubtedly Brahman by caste, corresponding to the present Karkun of Kas'mira." ——M. A. Stein: *Kalhana's Rajatarangini, Translated*, Vol. I., *(Introduction*, p. 19, Westminster, 1900*)*.

(vi) "Unfortunately the words Kayastha and Karanika are not caste-surnames upto the 11th century A. D., they are the names of scribes.....To Bühler *(vide 'Indian Palæography,'* Section 39 [95]; *Ind. Ant.* XXXIII [1904] Appendix, p. 101) the words Kayastha and Karanika appeared 'to be merely official titles without any reference to caste'.—— R. D. Banerji: *JASB*, December, 1914, p. 437.

(vii) "The number of Brahmanas was so large that the priests practically separated themselves from the ordinary Brahmanas.....Many Brahmanas took service under the government and, as petty officials and clerks, *(?)* were included in the generic term Kayastha. The term Kayastha.....does not yet mean a distinct caste or a group of sub-castes as at present."——Dr. Beni Prasada *The State in Ancient India* (Allahabad, 1928), Chap. XV—Kas'mir: and Chamba, p. 420 and f. n. 4.

p. 297, ll. 13-17 ; p. 406, ll. 8-13 ; p. 432, ll. 23-28 ; p. 433, ll. 1-4 ; p. 483, l. 18 to p. 484, l. 1 (also footnote 1 on p. 484) , and p. 509, ll. 19-22, of this very book also contain references to Kayasthas and lend full support to my theory of the origin of Kayasthas. Both Dr. Beni Prasad and myself have arrived at our conclusions quite independent of each other.

(viii) **"इन वर्णों के अतिरिक्त हिन्दू समाज में दो एक अन्य विभाग भी थे। ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, आदि, जो लोग लेखक अर्थात् अक्षरकारी का काम करते थे वे कायस्थ कहलाते थे। पहले कायस्थों का कोई अलग भेद नहीं था। कायस्थ अक्षरकार का ही पर्याय-शब्द है.....। पीछे से अन्य पेशेवालों के समान इन की भी एक (?) जाति बन गई, जिस में ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, आदि, का सम्मिश्रण (?) है। सूरजधज (सूर्यध्वज) कायस्थ अपने को शाकद्वीपी (मग) ब्राह्मण बतलाते हैं और वालभ कायस्थ क्षत्रिय, जाति के हैं, जैसा कि सोड्ढल-रचित 'उदयसुन्दरी-कथा' से पाया जाता है।**

——MM. Pt. Gauris'ankara Hiracanda Ojha : *Madhyakalīna Bhāratīya Samskrti* [600-1200 A. C.] (Hindustani Academy, U. P. Allahabad, 1928), pp. 47-48.

But in an inscription of 756 A. C. (813 V. S.) its writer, Kakka, who belonged to the Valabhya section, calls himself and his father Vatsuva as *Bhatta* (cf. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XII, p. 203, ll. 32-33). The surname *Bhatta*, borne by the donees also in this inscription, proves the Valabhya Kayasthas to be originally Brahmanas.

2. **"राजा.....लक्ष्मणसेन.....ने नवीन कुलपद्धति निर्माण की परन्तु उस समय भी वैदिकब्राह्मण वारेन्द्रकायस्थ और वैद्यगण उस में सम्मत न हुए.....जब द्विजों का यज्ञोपवीत देख कर लोग हास्य करने लगे तब ब्राह्मणों को छोड़ कर अन्य जातियों में से यज्ञोपवीत का लोप होने लगा, और——'युगे जघन्ये हे जाती ब्राह्मणः शूद्र एव च'—कलियुग में ब्राह्मण और शूद्र के सिवाय दूसरी जाति नहीं है—यही श्लोक प्रमाणरूप से वंग में भी प्रचार पाने लगा, इस के थोड़े ही काल पीछे महामति हलायुध ने यह घोषणा की थी कि 'वेदार्थज्ञानपराङ्मुखस्य ब्राह्मणस्य शूद्रत्वम्'——"**

——Jwalaprasada Misra : *Jati-Bhaskara*, (S'ri-Venkates'vara Press, Bombay, V. S. 1983), p. 274.

The same book, however, on p. 304, mentions *'S'arma'* as one of the 3½ families of the Kulina Varendra Kayasthas and, on p. 168, *'Kayasthayana'* to be one of the five *upa-Brahmanas* or Brahmanas of the second class.

3. *Cf.* Nagesa's *Vratyata-prayas'citta-nirnaya* (Chaukhambha Sanskrit Series, Benares, No. 366), p. 4, ll. 25-26,—

"कलौ न क्षत्रियाःसन्ति कलौ नो वैश्यजातयः ।
ब्राह्मणाश्चैव शूद्राश्च कलौ वर्णद्वयं स्मृतम् ॥"—;

p. 2, l. 24 ; p. 5, l. 4 ; p. 9, ll. 16-17 and 21 ; p. 14, ll. 11-13 ; p. 47, ll. 5-6. His pupil Vaidyanatha Payagunde (Balambhtta), in his *Chaya* on the word ब्राह्मणेन occurring in the passage "ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्च" qnoted in Patanjali's Mahabhasya, I, i, 1, writes as follows :—

"तस्माद् ब्राह्मणपदं त्रैवर्णिकोपलक्षणमिति बोध्यम् । वस्तुतस्तु कलौ क्षत्रियवैश्ययोरभावं सूचयितुं तथोक्तमिति यथाश्रुतमेव तत् साधु । तथा च— "कलौ न क्षत्रियाः सन्ति कलौ नो वैश्यजातयः । ब्राह्मणाश्चैव शूद्राश्च कलौ वर्णद्वयं स्मृतम् ॥ —इति स्मृतिरिति तत्त्वम् ॥"

Nagesa wrote his *Uddyota* on the Mahabhasya in 1714, and his pupil wrote his *Chāyā* on it in 1760, A. C., as would appear from Vasudeva Sastri Abhyankara's edition of the *Sarvadars'ana-samgraha* (Poona, 1924), pp. 529, 554, and 558. This Abhyankara Sastri is the surviving representative of Nages'a's traditional school of Sanskrit learning.

In the Deccan "कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः" is a quotation that has become proverbial among the Brahmanas, meaning that in Kali Age the abode [of the caste institution] is [only] at the first and the last [of the four castes]. Pandit Harikrsna S'arma, an Audicya Brahmana of Gujarata, who completed his book, named the *Brahmanotpatti-martanda*, in S'aka Samvat 1793 or 1871 A. C., has, in this book (S. V. Press, Bombay, V. S. 1979, p. 584), quoted this verse in full as follows :—

अथ कलियुगवशाद् वर्णस्थितिनिर्णयमाह धर्मशास्त्रे—

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रास्त्रेषु त्रयो द्विजाः ।
युगे युगे स्थिताः सर्वे कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः ॥

Kamalakara Bhatta, the author of the *S'udra-kamalakara*, at the end of his book, has raised the discussion as to the existence of Ksatriyas and Vais'yas in the Kali Age. He introduces it with the sentence "ननु कलौ क्षत्रियवैश्याभाव उक्तः" and quotes, first the passages from the *Bhagavata*, Skandha IX and XII, and the *Visnupurana*, and then, the present verse in the name of *Puranantara* (i. e., another Purana), as follows :—

"पुराणान्तरेऽपि—

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्र-(?)-वर्णास्त्रयो द्विजाः ।
युगे युगे स्थिताः सर्वे कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः ॥"

He concludes the objection with the words "अतः कथं द्विज-संकरजा उक्ताः", and gives his rejoinder as follows :— "मैवम्—

कलौ तु वीजभूतास्तु केचित्तिष्ठन्ति भूतले ।
तथैव देवापिपुरु साम्प्रतं समवस्थितौ ॥—इति विष्णुपुराणात् ।
ब्रह्मक्षत्रविशः शूद्रा वीजार्थं य इह स्थिताः ।
कृते युगे हि तैः सार्द्धं निर्विशेषास्तदाभवन् ॥—इति मात्स्योक्तेश्च ॥
प्रच्छन्नारूपाः स्वकर्मभ्रष्टाः क्षत्रियवैश्याश्च सन्त्येव क्वचिदित्यसत्पितृचरणाः ।"

The verse, however, as translated in the *Brahmanotpattimartanda*, means that the first three among [the four castes, viz,] the Brahmanas, Ksatriyas, Vais'yas and S'udras, are twiceborn : they all exist [intact] in every [other] age ; but in the Kali Age their establishment [is, in the right order, only] during its beginning and ending portions. That the author of the verse thus meant a disorder *of all the four* castes *in the middle* of Kali and *not of the Ksatriya and the Vais'ya* castes alone *in the whole* of that age, is now quite clear. Even the *Vratyata-prayascitta-nirnaya* of Nagesa (p. 9, ll. 16-23) lends some support to this view.

4. (i) *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 17, l. 27 ; Vol. XIV, p. 195, l. 35.

(ii) E. B. Cowell : *Miscellaneous Essays by H. T. Colebrooke*, Vol. II, p. 254, v. 19. [*Vide* fn. 5 (iii)].

(iii) *Report on the Search of Hindi MSS.*, published by the Nagari Pracarini Sabha Benares :—*for 1905*, p. 48, No. 52, l. 25; *for 1906-8*, p. 251, No. 92 (a), l. 26; etc.

5. (i) *Epigraphia Indica:*—"न संकीर्णा वर्णाः क्वचिदिह न सापत्न्यकलुषाः, स्थिताः, कायस्थेन प्रथितकुलशीलोज्ज्वलधिया। यशःपालेनायं विदितपदविद्येन लिखितः प्रशस्तेर्विन्यासः कृतयुगसमाचारसदृशः ॥".—Vol. I, p. 146, l. 31; "विद्वन्निर्जयपालशीतकिरणोऽमून्यादराद्वन्दितो गौडः प्रालिखदक्षराणि कुमुदाकाराणि सर्पत्करः । कायस्थो जयवर्मदेवनृपतेरीशस्य विश्वत्कलाः साहित्याम्बुधिबन्धुरुद्धततमो रुन्धन्ननिन्द्यद्युतिः ॥"—*ibid*, l. 34; ".....करणकर्मनिवासपूता.....सर्वोपकारकरणैकनिधेः स्वकीयवंशस्य पात्र-सुभगस्य द्विजाश्रयस्य । कल्पावसानसमयस्थितये पुरीं यां.....। तस्यां श्रुतेर्निनदसङ्घनिनादितायां वास्तव्यवंश ..... विद्याश्चतुर्दश कलाः सकलाः समीयुः पद्माभिरामभिव वल्लभमायताक्ष्यः । ..... कायस्थवंश.....। तत्सन्ततौ सकलवाङ्मयपारदृश्वा भूभूषणं...॥" — Vol. I, p. 333, ll. 1-4; "विरचितशुभकर्मोन्नामवास्तव्यवंश्यः सकलगुणगणानां वेश्म पृथ्वीधराख्यः । .....धर्मलेखी"—Vol. IV, p, 170, l. 123 and XVI, p. 14, l.31; "ब्राह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यानधिकृतान् कुटुम्बिकायस्थवृतवैद्यमहत्तरादीन्" —Vol, X, p. 48, l. 6 and XVI, p. 276, ll. 7-8; "विशदगुण-गणोद्योन्नामवास्तव्यवंश्यः सकलविदितशास्त्रः श्रीशुभानन्दनामा ।.....धर्म-

लेखी"—Vol. X, p. 49, ll. 20-21; "द्विजवरनतिरक्तः शुद्धकायस्थवंश्यो हृदयधरसमाख्यः श्रीशिवस्तम्भसूनुः।"—Vol. XIV, p. 195, l. 35.

(ii) Calcutta Indian Museum Inscription of V. S. 1345 (No. 247 of the *Appendix to Ep. Ind., Vol. V.*):—"आसीन्महर्षिः स किलादिवेदी जनोविदां कश्यप इत्युदारः। यं जातवेदोविधितः सुराणां सन्तृप्तये यज्ञविधिः ससर्ज ॥ ११ ॥ ... स कोऽपि कायस्थतया प्रतीतो मनीषिभिर्मानितशेसुधौकः। तद्गोत्र.....॥ १४ ॥ श्रियो निवासादजयत् प्रवंशो वास्तव्यतामप्रतिरूपकोऽद्रिम् ॥ १५ ॥ जङ्घे मनः..... सुविद्यया धीरकुलस्य धीमान् हारुकनामा...॥ १६ ॥ लिपिकरकुलकोटेः कोटरस्थागमानां सुकृतविटपिमूलस्याश्रयस्य द्युतीनाम्। अभवदमिततेजा जाह्नवस्तस्य सूनुः सुरगुरुरिव भूमौ भूपतीनां क्रियार्हः ॥ १७ ॥"

(iii) "अतिनिर्मलकुलजन्मा देवद्विजगुरुनरपतिनतिसक्तः। खानितभूरितडागः कारितदेवालयस्त्यागी ॥ १९ ॥ सुगतप्रतिमः कृपया गुणनिधिरभवज्जितेन्द्रियो विद्वान्। विप्रियवादे विमुखः कायस्थो नागदत्त इति ॥ २० ॥ तेन रचिता.....प्रशस्तिरियम् ॥ २१ ॥"—Cowell: *Miscellaneous Essays by H. T. Colebrooke*, Vol. II, p. 254.

(iv) *Report on the Search of Hindi MSS.* publ. by N. P. Sabha, Benares :—*for 1903*, "अति उज्ज्वल कायस्थकुलता के भेद अनेक ॥.....इति श्री चतुर्दशविद्यानिधानेत्यादिविवेक(विविध ?) विसदविराजमानकायस्थकुलशेखरपञ्चोलीभागचन्दसुत .."—No. 48, p. 36, l. 20; *for 1905*, No. 83, p. 78, ll. 8-9, and *for 1920-22*. No. 167, p. 423, ll. 10-11, "कायथ गुनियरवार है श्रीवास .....। कायथवंस कुलीन अति..."; *for 1906-8*, No. 79 (a), p. 210, l. 31—"नवलसिंह कायस्थकुल श्रीवास्तव्य स-नाम।"; *ibid*, No. 79 (c), p. 212, l. 12—"श्रीवास्तव कायस्थ सुचि सुकुल कटेरावार। नवलसिंह नामाभिमत....."; *ibid*, No. 79 (k), p. 218, l. 20—"कुल को नवलसिंह नाम...। जाति में प्रधान..."; *ibid*, No. 86, p. 238, l. 19—"जाति प्रधान नहीं अभिमान"; No. 106, p. 277, ll. 10-12—"काइथ चतुर सुजाने।.....बड़े जात ते सब ते ऊंचे सबसुख कहे बखाने ॥ ११८ ॥"; *for 1917-19*, No. 154, p. 313 (l. 32) —314 (l. 1)—"काइथकुल श्रीवास्तव उत्तम उत्तमचन्द। रामप्रसाद भयो तनै तासु महा मतिमन्द ॥ ४१३ ॥"; *for 1920-22*, No. 166, p. 422,

ll. 13 and 19—"कायस्थकुल कल्पतरु"; No. 187 (e), p. 450, l. 29—"कलि के कलपतरु काइथ हैं महादानि.....गङ्गातू के तीर तहां कम्पिला बसति है ॥"—The last verse was written in the description of Kampilā, a very ancient town (the capital of the Pañcāla known as Kāmpilya and held by King Drupada) in the district of Farrukhabad, U. P., by Kavirāja Sukhadeva, a Kulīna Kānyakubja Mis'ra Brāhmaṇa of Kampilā, and the author of *Vrtta-Vicara*, a book on Hindi Prosody, in V. S. 1728 or 1671 A. C.

6. *Vide* (i) *Balambhatti* on the *Mitaksara*, Book I (J. R. Gharpure's edition, 1914), p. 314. Its author was alive a hundred years ago (*cf.* n. 3 above, and Gharpure's Introduction).

(ii) *Vacaspatya* of Taranatha (Calcutta, 1873), p. 1935.

(iii) *Brahmanotpattimartanda*, p. 533.

(iv) *Kayasthakulabhaskara*, by Laksminarayana Sarasvata (N. K. Press, Lucknow, 1881), pp. 13, 21, 38, 39, 45, 54, 73-104.

7. *The Kayastha Ethnology* of M. Kaliprasada Kulabhaskara (Hindi version, Allahabad, 1906), pp. 10-12 (No. 2).

8. *Kayasthakulabhaskara*, pp. 79-90 (bold letters); *Kayastha Ethnology* (Hindi), pp. 13-15 (No. 4).

9. *The Kayastha Samachar*, Allahabad, August-September, 1917, to February, 1918; *Kayastha Ethnology* (Hindi), pp. 12-13 (No. 3), pp. 16-18 (Nos. 5 & 7).

10. *The Kayastha Samachar* (as in Note 7 above); *Kayastha Ethnology* (Hindi), pp. 20-22 (Nos. 14-15).

11. *Kayastha Ethnology* (Hindi), p. 10 (No. 1), p. 16 (No. 6), pp. 18-20 (Nos. 8-13).

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-22 (Nos. 2-15).

13. *Ibid.*, p. 10, (No. 1); and pp. 31. 34-35, *37*, *53* and *80*.

14. *Vide* note 1 (v), (vi), (vii) and (viii), above.

15. Ksemendra uses the word *Kayastha* four times in his Das'avatara-carita (*i. e.* in VII. 280; VIII. 822; X. 12; and X. 13), once in his Caturvarga-samgraha (II. 14), twice in his Samaya-matrka (IV. 70; V. 63), nine times in his Kala-vilasa (V. 1, 7, 8, 9, 18, 39, 41, 44 and 45), and nine times also in his Narma-mala (I. 1, 6, 22, 28, 56, 148; II. 77, 143; and III. 58). In the Loka-prakas'a, which is also attributed to Ksemendra, the word occurs thrice—*vide* A. Weber: *Indische Studien*, Achtzehnter Band, Leipzig (1898). p. 350 (52nd word in Chapter III), and p. 371 (s'loka 2 and 3 in Chapter IV).

The last-named book is not yet published in India. The Des'opades'a and Narma-mala are contained in No. 40 of the

Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies published by the Research Department, Kashmir State (S'rinagar). All the other books of Ksemendra referred to in the present paper are published in the Kavyamala Series by the Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay.

16. In Canto V. of the Kalavilasa, the word *Divira* is used only as a synonym for *Kayastha* in the official sense, in verses 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 17 and 46. The word *Kayustha* in the Narma-mala, I. 6; and I. 148, is evidently identical in sense with the word *Niyogin* in I. 4; and II. 7, 19, 29, 37, 47, 52, 63, 88, 89, 93, 100, 112, 115, 117; III. 1, 9, 21, 47, 69, 86, 87, 89, 92, 97, 112, 114 respectively. This *Niyogin* is called *Adhikarin* in (II. 56,) the same book. The latter word occurs also in the Das'avatara-carita (X. 28), Samaya-matrka (III. 30; VI. 27), Narma-mala (I. 8, and 74), and in a slightly different form in the Kala-vilasa (IX. 40) and Narma-mala (III. 97, 98, and 99).

17. The word *Divira* occurs also in the Darpa-dalana (II. 54), Samaya-matrka (II. 37, 38, 39, 40; III. 33; VII. 21, 45; VIII. 43, 108), Des'opades'a (VIII. 5, and 6), Narma-mala (I. 15, 17, 26, 83, 128, 130, 138, 141; II. (27-28 *Jivana-divira*,) 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 129, 131, 136; III. 1, 100, 112, 114), and Loka-prakas'a (pp. 340, 349, 350, 378, 380, 381, and 395).

18. The word *Niyogin* occurs also in the Darpa-dalana (II. 49), Samaya-matrka (I. 49; VI. 13), Kala-vilasa, (I. 90; VI. 30; IX. 40), and Narma-mala (I. 35, 42, 45, 46, 51, 104, 119); and in a slightly different form in the Darpa-dalana (II. 51), Kala-vilasa IX. 52), and Narma-mala (I. 32 and 97).

19. Other words used to denote Kayasthas or officers and officials in the Narma-mala are *Sarvadhikarin* (I. 8); *Gananapati* (I. 9), (the same as the *Ganaka* or *Ganasthula* or *Samkhyapati* in Loka-prakas'a, p. 350, spelt also as *Gampatya* (?) in the instrumental case, *ibid*, p. 391); *Grhakrtya-mahattama* (I. 32; III. 49 and 88); *Paripalaka* (I. 55, 61, 80, 85, 88, 96; and III. 90); *Lekhadhikarin* (I. 74, et seqq.) also called *Lekhakopadhyaya* (the *Pattopadhyaya* of Kalhanas Rajatarangini, V. 397); *Niyoyin's Assistant*, also called *Khvas'apati* or *Tuna-raksaka* (II. 93, 100; and perhaps also III. 87), (the same as the *Khavasa-divira*, in Lokaprakasa, p. 350); *Dharmadhikarna-stha-divira*, i. e. the officer of the court of [Chief-] justice (II. 117) or *Nagaracarya* (City-prefect?) or *Bhogin* (II. 118) or *Asthana-divira* (II. 120, 121, 127, 129, 136); and *Sandhi-vigraha-kayastha*, i. e., the Minister for peace and war (II. 143).

20. The word 'kula' meaning 'family' is once compounded with the word *Kayastha* in the Kala-vilasa (V. 39), as follows :—

मगधे(धा ?)नामहमभवं कायस्थ-कुले स्वकर्मणो विमुख: ॥

'I was born in the family of the Kayasthas (officials) of (the) Magadha (Kingdom).'

But here there is no reference to any particular caste or sub-caste of officials. Magadha was an equally important seat of culture as Kas'mira, as would appear from the Tibetan account of the [Tibetan] Minister Thonmi receiving instruction in reading and writing from the Brahman Li byin of Magadha *or* Kas'mira in the seventh century A. C. (——Vide *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI., pp. 266, 267).

21. (Bhisma's exhortation to Yudhisthira :—)

प्रजाकार्यं सक्तिः श्रवणमभिभूतार्तवचसां
स्पृहा काम-क्रोध-प्रमद-मद-मान-व्युपरमे ।
क्षितेः कायस्थेभ्यः कृपणपरिरक्षा प्रतिपदं
गुणासङ्गः श्रेयानयमुदयलक्ष्म्या क्षितिभृताम् ॥

'Devotion to the popular works ; hearing (the petitions of) the humiliated and distressed ; yearning for the restraint of passion, wrath, folly, infatuation and pride ; protection, at every step, of the poor from the officials (कायस्थेभ्यः) of the land ;——such addiction to merits along with the beauty of prosperity is beneficial to kings'

22. Dharmartha=Religious Endowments.—R. M. Shastri.

23. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 27, p. 122, l. 7 ; Ksemendra's *Samaya-matrka*, III. 33 and VIII. 108; *Des'opades'a*, VIII. 5; *Narma-mala*, I. 83; Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, V. 177 to be read along with V. 166-176 and VII. 42-43.

24. *Samaya-matrka*, II. 37-40; *Narma-mala*, I. 128; II. 27-28, 117, 120-121; *Lokaprakasa*, pp. 349-350.

25. Cf. Panini, III. iii, 41, according to which our word may have been derived in the last sense mentioned there. Cf. also the *Ramasrami* on the *Amarakosa*, II. vi. 71 and II. iv. 59. Of course, the word कायस्थ did not exist in the times of Panini and even long after.

26. *Dasavatara-carita*, X. 12 ; *Darpa-dalana*, II. 51 ; *Kala-vilasa*, V. 7; (*ibid.* IX. 52); *Rajatar.*, VII. 1169; VIII. 473; *Udaya-sundarikatha* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XI), p. 8, ll. 7, 15, 19, 20, 28; p. 10, ll. 15, 16-28, 29 ; p. 11, ll. 1, 2, 20-23, 26 ; *Apararka* and *Mitaksara* on *Yajnavalkya-smrti* (I, 334 *or* 336); *etc.*

27. *Samaya-matrka*, l. 49; *Narma-mala*, I. 43-44; III. 9, and 86.

28. *Narma-mala*, III. 1, 112, 114; *Rajatar.*, VIII. 131.

29. *Narma-mala*, I. 52-55, 57, 65, 67-69, 85, 88, 90-96.

30. The appelation *Kayastha* was especially borne by Ministers for Peace and War, who had to deal with foreign policy and were, according to the Dharma-s'astras, authorized to write the *raja-sasanas* (i. e. the royal documents or charters). As

such, they generally appear in Indian inscriptions. It is in this capacity that a *Kayastha* or *Lekhaka* (writer) is, according to the law-books and the sections of Puranas dealing with the *Raja-niti* (state-craft), required to be a master of all the S'astras and languages and proficient in the scripts of all the countries (**'सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः', 'सर्वभाषाविशारदः', 'सर्वदेशाक्षराभिज्ञः'**). All the evidence of this type will be examined in the Second Part of this Paper.

In the *Yas'astilaka-campu*, composed by Somedeva Suri in S'aka Samvat 881 or in 959 A. C. and published by the N. S. Press, Bombay, we read, on p. 470 of Part I, as follows :—

वाचयति लिखति कवते गमयति सर्वा लिपीश्च भाषाश्च ।
आत्म-पर-स्थिति-कुशलः सप्रतिभः सन्धिविग्रही कार्यः ॥

'One who reads out, writes, composes (*or* drafts) in, and explains, all the scripts and languages, and, being intelligent, is smart enough to gauge the situation of his own side and that of others (*or* enemies), should be appointed as the Minister for peace and war (*Sandhi-vigrahin*)'.

In the Sanskrit inscriptions, the *Kayasthas* of this position are very often found describing their efficiency in various scripts especially in crooked writing, in different languages, in the art of poetry, and in all or several S'astras.

According to the *Brhatparasara-samhita* (B. S. S. LXVII, Ch. xii, S'l. 10, p. 233), *Patra-kaumudi*, etc., this *Kayastha* or *Raja-lekhaka*, like many other officials, was to be chosen from the Brahmana caste. Hence we find that Mankha (*Rajatar.*, VIII. 3354), his brother Alankara (*Srikantha-carita*, III. 62) who was, at first, the Superintendent of treasury (*Rajatar.*, VIII. 2423), Jalhana (*Srikanthac.*, XXV. 75), etc., who held this office and are sometimes termed even as *Niyogins* (i. e. *Kayasthas*) were generally Brahmanas by caste.

In view of these facts, remarks like those as made by the editors of the Kavyamala Series in the Preface of the *Sahr-dayananda* Kavya or by John Beames in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V., p. 57 (last footnote), etc., based, as they are, on ignorance, must be discarded.

31. Kalhana's *Rajatar.* VII. 935-937 and Stein's note thereon; Bilhana's *Vikram.*, XVIII. 70-85 (his own geneology).

32. **नो कायस्थैः कुटिललिपिभिर्नो विटैश्चाटुदक्षै—**
र्न प्रत्यक्षस्तवनपटुभिर्लुण्ठिता गायनैश्च ।
देवागारद्विजगुरुगृहाण्येव यत्संगृहीता
याता लक्ष्मीर्निजचपलतादोषशुद्ध्यर्थिनीव ॥

33. See note 30 above.

34. G. Buhler: *Introduction* to the *Vikramanka-deva-carita*, p. 9. The literal translation of the verse would be as follows :—

'Stored by whom, the Wealth *(personified)*, not having been spoiled by *Kayasthas* [who were masters] of crooked writing, parasites [who were] clever in flattery and singers [who were] smart in praising on the face, went, eager, as it were, to expiate herself of her blemish which is fickleness, only to temples and houses of Brahmanas and preceptors.'

35. *Rajatar.*, VII. 1117 ; Stein's note on it ; and *Intr.* p. 7.

36. III. 489; IV. 90, 351, 352, 621,, 623, 629, 630 ; V. 175, 180, 181, 184, 265, 431, 439; VI. 132; VII. 38, 149, 1169, 1226, 1695; VIII. 87, 89, 90, 107, 110, 113, 114, 131, 258, 276, 326, 473, 560, 562, 570, 664, 1817, 2383.

37. VII. 1177, 1319 ; VIII. 294. In the second of these three references Stein reads '*Kayastha*'. If his reading is correct, the number of occurrences of the word *Kayastha* would be forty.

38. *Rājatar.* VIII., 93, 99, 293, 1118, 1482, 1624, etc.

39. E. g., *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 41, l. 28 ; VIII, p. 159, l. 24 ; etc.

40. E. g., *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 211, l. 14 ; VI, p. 33, l. 57 ; p. 299, l. 34 ; XIII, p. 340, l. 18 ; XV, p. 5, l. 34 ; etc.

41. (i) Dr. Beni Prasad: *The State in Ancient India*, p. 420 (*vide* note 1, vii, above); (ii) MM. G. H. Ojha: *Madhyakalina Bharatiya Samskrti*, p. 47 (*vide* note 1. viii, above); (iii) M. Kaula: *Narma-mala, Introd.*, p. 10; (iv) "इस जाति की बुद्धि बहुत तीव्र है, और लिखने का काम बहुत काल से इनके हाथ में चला आता है और इनमें लोग बड़े ऊंचे पदों पर नोकरी करते हैं, मुसल्मानी शासनकाल में.....उनके साथ मिल कर काम करते रहे परन्तु हिन्दूराज्य में इस जाति को इतना उच्च पद पाना नहीं पाया जाता, हां उस समय भी इन के हाथ में कुछ 'छोटी कक्षा का राजकाज' पाया जाता है।"—Jwalaprasada Misra: *Jati-Bhaskara* (Samvat 1983), p. 304.

But the evidence reserved for the second part of the present paper is teeming with numerous instances to prove that *Kayasthas* generally held almost all the high and responsible posts of government or administration, including provincial governorship and Prime Ministership, all over the country, in different centuries of the Hindu period of History since their appearance in genuine historical records Their regular history remains yet to be written ; and I am collecting material for the same.

42. अन्योन्योद्वाहसम्बन्धैः कायस्थाः संहता यदि ॥३५१॥
कर्मस्थानानि वीक्षन्ते क्षमापाः कायस्थवद् यदा ।
तदा निःसंशयं क्षेयः प्रजाभाग्यविपर्ययः ॥३५२॥

43. *Cf.* his note on the above (i. c. IV., 348) and *Introd.*, pp. 37 and 93.

44. चेतुं सरूपतामात्रं कृत्वा, जामातरं नृपः ।
अथाश्वघासकायस्थं चक्रे दुर्लभवर्धनम् ॥

45. नार्पोश्वलेयो दुःशीलो नाद्रोद्दो नित्यशङ्कितः ।
नावाचालो मृषाभाषी नाकायस्थः कृतघ्नधीः ॥

46. See note 42 above.

47. शिवराज्युत्सवे श्लोकमसुं शिवरथाभिधः ।
विद्वान् पठंस्तेन हठात्सर्वाध्यात्तो व्यधीयत ॥८।१११॥
निःसंशयं हृतं ज्ञात्वा सुज्ञिं राजोपजीविनः ।
तत्र स्थितं शिवरथं सर्वद्वेष्यमबन्धयन् ॥८।२१५६॥
तदन्तरं शिवरथो द्विजः प्रचुरचाक्रिकः ।
कायस्थपाशः पाशेन गलं बद्ध्वा व्यपद्यत ॥८।२३८३॥

For the formation of the expression कायस्थपाशः (VIII. 2383), like that of भृत्यपाशस्य (VII. 1696) and सचिवपाशेन (VIII. 2229), used in the *Rajatar.*, see Panini (V. iii. 47)—"याप्ये पाशप" ० याप्य is a synonym of अधम in the *Amara-kosa* (III. 54).

48. Perhaps the ancestor of Bilhana, cf. *Vikramankadeva-carita*, text, XVIII. 70-79 ; and *Introd.*, p. 16, n. 1., (where 'Mukti-kalasa' is apparently a misnomer for 'Rajakalasa'.) There is nothing against this identification in the available evidence.

49. In *Narma-mala* (I. 108-113), the following things in the camp-luggage of a *Kayastha* show that he used to be a Brahmana by caste, as they are needed in the daily Agnihotra and worship by a Saiva Brahmana :—Tamra-kunda, Sruk and Sruva (two sacrificial instruments), Aksasutra (rosary of Rudraksa), Snana-satika (silken cloth for wearing after bath and at worship), Padukas (wooden sandals), Mantra-pustika and Stotra-mantra (spell-book and prayer-book), Naksatra-patrika (almanac), Gangamrd (dust or sand of the Ganges), Bilva [-leaves], and Pavitra-sutraka (the sacred-thread), the necessity of changing which may arise at any time.

In I. 80 and II. 94, 97, 99, the *Paripalaka* and the *Niyogin* are addressed as "your worship", 'his worship' (*Padah*), i. e., with reverence that a Brahmana deserves.

The messengers (*Karyaduta*, *Bhatta-bhagavata*—I. 46, 50. 83), and *Asthana-bhattas*, i. e. the *Adhikarana-dvijas* (II. 137, 144), who are also admitted to be *Kayasthas* by the editor of the *Narma-mala* on obvious grounds, are undoubtedly Brahmanas.

50. Dr. Beni Prasad has rightly remarked that there being a very large number of Brahmanas, the priests, who organized themselves into corporations in numerous places and threatened or carried out hunger-strikes, practically separated themselves

from the ordinary Brahmanas, from amongst whom many took service under the government and were, thus, as a class, called *Kayasthas.* The word *Prayastha*, meaning 'one sitting for fasting himself to death' (cf. Ksemendra's *Narma-mala*, I. 39, 41, 84; II. 70. 98; Kalhana's *Rajatar.*, VIII. 110; Jonaraja's *Rajatar.*, 155), was generally used for the former class of Brahmanas to denote their characteristic feature; and methinks the word *Kayastha*, also meaning 'one who abides in the body' as exactly opposed to the idea in *Prayastha*, denoted the other class of Brahmanas who as government servants, generally sided with the interests of the state against the organized attempts of hunger-strikers, and, at occasions, also instigated the latter even against the supporters of the royal authority or the king himself when in the wrong (*e. g.*, *Rajatar.*, VI. 334-336; VII. 13, 20; etc.).

51. कायस्थोक्तिवदेवेयं कृता स्मृत्यै भविष्यताम् ।
दृष्ट्वेदं ललितं काव्यं कुर्वन्त्वन्येऽत्र पण्डिताः ॥
Cf. also S'rīvara's *Rājatar.*, I, i, 10.

52. मल्लामीनग्रहांशुन्दकायस्थसदनानि च ।
राजानको दुस्सनः स ददाह स्वगृह-क्रुधा ॥

53. तत्र राजाज्ञयानीतैः सिद्धादेशाधिकारिभिः ।
देशोत्पत्तिविभागज्ञै-स्तज्ज्ञैर्लेखककर्मभिः ॥
कायस्थैर्बुधकाश्वीशसंख्येशजुगकादिभिः ।
भागत्रयं विधायोर्व्यां राष्ट्रदेशेषु सर्वतः ॥
भागः कताहशाहस्य मल्लिकोत्सस्य चापरः ।
तृतीयोंशश्च राजानश्चक्रारक्षेत्यलिख्यत ॥

54. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 152, ll. 71-72.

55. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, Part I (July, 1926), p. 46, ll. 54-55.

56. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 130, l. 5; *ibid*, p. 139, l. 4; *ibid*, p. 142, l. 5.

57. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 250, l. 47; *Gauda-lekha-mala*, p. 16, l. 47; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IXL (1910), p. 200, l. 7; *ibid*, p. 204, l. 6.

58. *JASB*, August, 1910, p. 435, ll. 5-6; *ibid*, August, 1911, p. 476, ll. 5-6; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, p. 76, ll. 5-6.

59. कायस्थो जयवर्म्मदेवनृपतेः—"the *Kayastha of* the ruling prince Jayavarmadeva"—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol: I, p. 146, ll. 34 and note No. 98; तत्कालकायस्थपं०—"*the then Kayastha Pandit*"—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 11, fn. I; etc.

These expressions (54-59) are of the same category as अश्वघास-कायस्थ (*Rajatar.*, III. 489), and are empathic enough to prove that the word *Kayastha* was used merely as an individual's

official title in these places, where it cannot be explained as a caste-name. For a long time the latter sense was not known in the ancient records and literature ; and therefore it is a blunder to take this term, as used in Visnu, Yajna-valkya, Pancatantra, Mrcchakatika, Mudraraksasa, Naisadhiyacarita, etc., in the sense of a caste.

60. J. Eggeling : India Office Library *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Part II, p. 536 (the scribe of No. 1680) ; *the First Triennial Report on the Search of Hindi MSS. for the years, 1906, 1907, and 1908*, published by the Nagari Pracarini Sabha, Benares, p. 237, l. 15, No. 84 ; *ibid*, p. 252, l. 4, No. 92 (b) ; Nagendranatha Vasu : *Kayasthera-varna-nirnaya*, p. 132 ; etc ; etc.

Among the Srivastavya Kayasthas, Pandes of Amodha, Dihia-kota, Punavala, Tilhara, etc., are well-known. See also the *Kayastha-Samacara* (Hindi), Allahabad, January, 1930, p. 6, fn. 16.

61. *Decision of the Patna High Court* on F. A. No. 207, of 1922, reprinted by Raja Indrakarana Bahadur, of Hyderabad, Deccan, 1927, p. 20 ; N. Vasu : *Kayasthera-varna-nirnaya*, p. 132 ; G. N. Sinha's Pamphlet, p. 24.

Among the Sri-vastavyas, Misras of Bataha and Tiwaris of Mithavela and Patara are mentioned by Pandit N. Vasu.

62. Annual Report on the Search of Hindi MSS., for 1900, Appendix I, p. 125, ll. 15-16 and 38 ; p. 127, l. 7 ; p. 129, l. 18 ; p. 130, ll. 8 and 29 ; p. 131, l. 14 ; G. N. Sinha's Pamphlet, p. 24.

63. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIV (Kolhapnr), Chap. III, p. 64, l. 32 ; Census of India, 1901, Vol. I. (India—*Ethnographic Appendices*) By H. H. Risley, pp. 87, 90-91.

64. (i) "लिखितमिदं कायस्थान्वयप्रसूतेन वालिगपण्डितेन"—*BBJRAS* (1876), p. 334.

(ii) चरकसंहिता...It was copied by a श्रीवास्तव्यकायस्थ-पण्डित named रत्नपाल...from Jejābhukti...in Bundelakhaṇḍa—*Palm-leaf MSS., Durbar Library, Nepal* (1905). by MM. Pt. Haraprasād S'āstrī, Preface, p. xxi.

(iii) रामायणम्... (कायस्थ)पण्डितश्रीश्रीकुरस्यात्मजश्रीगोपतिना-लेखीदम्—*Ibid*, the Historical Introduction by Prof. C. Bendall, p. 18 ; *JASB*, (1903), p. 18.

(iv) ... तत्कालकायस्थपं०श्रत्थार(धा)त्रज्ञ—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 11, fn. 1.

(v) भिषजप्रिया...ग्रन्थकर्ता सुदर्शनवैद्य...धमौरपुर-निवासी किसी प्रसिद्ध पण्डित के पांच पुत्रों मेंसे हैं—Annual Report on the

Search for Hindi MSS. (for 1905), by S'yām Sundar Dās, B. A., p. 82.

Compare this with the following:—इति शार्ङ्गधरे...॥ इतिश्रीवास्तव्यकुलप्रकाशकवेद्यसुदर्शनविरचितायां भिषजप्रियायां...संदेशः ७॥ सवत् १८७१ शक १७३६—First Triennial *Report (1906-1908) on the Search for Hindi Manuscripts*, p. 280-1 (No. 112 *(a)*).

This Sudarsana was most probably descended from the family of Adhamalla Srivastavya of Hamirapura (in Bundelakhanda), the author of the शार्ङ्गधरदीपिका (published both at Calcutta and Bombay), who in his introductory verses writes as follows:—

श्रीवास्तव्यकुलप्रकाशमणयो ये पूर्वजा विश्रुताः, श्रीहम्मीरपुरे महाजनतते येषां स्थितिः कथ्यते...॥४॥ तदन्वये किं बहुना प्रसिद्धः श्रीचक्रपाणिः कुलकैरवेन्दुः। नानागुणालीयमभूच्च यस्य समस्तवैद्योद्घटनादिरूपा ॥५॥ तस्य बुद्धिसुभगस्य तनूजो भावसिंह इति भूपतिमान्यः। सुश्रुतादिकरहस्यविधिज्ञो यो यशांसि विपुलानि च लेभे ॥६॥ तस्यात्मजो दीर्घमतिः प्रदृष्टो नाम्नाढमल्लोत्पनिबन्धदर्शी। तेन स्वगुर्वर्चनतत्परेण विधास्यते शार्ङ्गधरप्रकाशः ॥७॥

The physician Adhamala (as he calls himself at the end of the Prathama Khanda), flourished during the reign of Sri Jaitrasimha, the King of Hasti-kanta-puri near the river Carmanvati (as is clear from the 9th introductory verse), perhaps during the 12th century of the Saka era (as might have been the sense of the concluding verse No. 3 of his commentary on the Uttara Khanda in its correct form).

To this very ancient Kayastha physician Pandits' family also belonged perhaps the scribe of the *Rasaprabodha* (No. 16, of the *Annual Report on the Search of Hindi MSS. for 1905*, p. 15), who observes as follows:—

"फागुन सुदी ६ संवत् १९०७ मुकाम रसधान लिखतं लाला जुगलकिसोर काइथ वेद हमीरपुर के ॥"

(vi) भादो ब दि ५ संवत् १९१० पोथी पं० श्री लाला रामलाल की,—p. 1, *MS. No. 1* of the same Report, *i. e.* प्रेमदीपिका (place of deposit.--Lālā Jānakīprasāda, Chhatrapur, C.I).

(vii) Balvanta Rao, a prominent Kayastha Prabhu, who died in 1843, obtained the title of '*Pandita* Sumanta' from Maharaja Pratapasimha of Satara in 1827—N. Vasu's *Kayasthera-varna-nirnaya*, pp. 114 and 115.

(viii) M. Kamta Prasad, a Gauda Kayastha, who was well-versed in Samskrit as well as in Persian and who was at Datia (C. I.), first a Vakil and afterwards the Munsif, was known by the name of *Pandita* Madanagopala.—Professor Ramadasa Gauda, M. A.: *Tazkira-e-Sucaru-vamsi*, p. 47.

65. श्रीवास्तव्यान्वयेनेषा प्रशस्तिरमलात्मना। लिखिता रामदासेन पण्डिताधीश्वरेण च ॥१३॥

—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II., p. 231, l. 14.

66. वास्तव्यवंश्यशुभ्रांशुर्गोविन्दश्चेदिमण्डलात्। कृती कालक्रमेणासौ देशं तुम्माणमागतः ॥८॥ पुत्रस्तस्य जनानुरागजलधिर्भूभृत्सभाभूषणो जायान् पण्डितपुण्डरीकतरणिर्मामेऽभिधानोऽभवत्। यो धात्रीतिलको निजाऽमलकुलालङ्कारहारोपमो विख्यातस्त्रिपुरान्तकैकचरणाम्भोजैकभृङ्गो भुवि ॥९॥ श्रीमासेतनयः...। राजत्युन्मदवादिवृन्ददलनो लीलाविहारः श्रियः, शीलाचार विवेकपुण्यनिलयः श्रीरत्नसिंहः कविः ॥११॥.....देवगणस्तनूजः ॥१३॥ पीयूषद्रवसान्द्रविन्दुवसतिर्यस्यास्यवाक्चन्द्रिका, विद्वच्चक्रचकोरचञ्चुपुटकैरापीयमानाऽ निशम्।.....॥१५। अबोधध्वान्तसन्तानकरिकुम्भविदारणः। जगत्सिंहोऽस्य तनयः सिंहवद् भुवि राजते ॥१९॥ चक्रे देवगणो धाम बिल्वपाखिपिनाकिनः। साम्बाग्रामे तुषाराद्रिशिखराभोगभासुरम् ॥२४॥ निःशेषागमशुद्धबोधविभवः काव्येषु यो भव्यधीः सत्तर्काम्बुधिपारगो भृगुसुतो यो दण्डनीतौ मतः। छन्दोऽलङ्कृति-शब्द-मन्मथकला-शास्त्रा-ऽब्जचण्डद्युति-श्चक्रे देवगणः प्रशस्तिममलां श्रीरत्नसिंहात्मजः ॥२६॥

—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 47.

'The learned (*Krti*) Govinda of the [Sri-]Vastavya family came from Cedi (in C. I.) to Tummana (C. P.). His son named Mame was, the gem of the King's Assembly, *the sun for the lotuses* [*in the form*] *of Pandits*, an ornament of the earth, likened to the pearl-necklace to decorate his pure family, and a renowned Saiva in the world. The illustrious Mame's son, the illustrious Ratnasimha, the poet, is shining as the vanquisher of the host of the proud disputants (*i. e.*, speakers of the *prima facie* view in the *Sastrarthas* or learned discussions), the pleasure-grove of the goddess Sri and the abode of chastity, sacred usages, true knowledge and religious merit. He has the son, Devagana, whose sweet and perspicuous speech (*i. e.*, teaching), is constantly received eagerly by the circle of the learned. His son Jagatsimha shines on the earth as a lion breaking the elephant-temples in the form of the pitched darkness of ignorance. Devagana built, in the village of Samba, the lofty and resplendent shrine of God Siva. Sri-Ratnasimha's son, Devagana, who has the wealth of the pure knowledege of the complete Scriptures, is talented in Poetry, has sailed across the Ocean of the right reasoning, is admitted to be Bhrgu's son (Sukra *or* Parasurama) in Dandaniti (*i. e.*, in the science of Politics *or* in administering justice, *i. e.* punishment) and is the sun for the lotuses [in the form] of the sciences of Prosody, Rhetoric, Grammar and love, composed the spotless eulogy.'

67. काश्यप्रीयाऽक्षपादीय-नयसिद्धान्त-वेदिना।
विपक्षवादिसिंहेन रत्नसिंहेन धीमता ॥२३॥
वास्तव्यवंशकमलाकरभानुनेषं सामेसुतेन रचिता रुचिरा प्रशस्तिः ॥२४॥
—*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 42, ll. 26–27.

'The charming eulogy is composed by Mame's son, the wise Ratnasimha, who is proficient in the doctrines of Kasyapa's (*i. e.*, Kanada's) and Aksapada's (*i. e.* Gautama's) Naya (*i. e.*, the *Vais'esika* and the *Nyaya* S'astras respectively), who is a lion to the speakers of the opposite side (*i. e.*, disputants in the *S'astrarthas*), and who is the sun to the assemblage of lotuses in the form of the [Sri-]Vastavya family.'

In the above-noted *Pras'asti* composed by his son Devagana, he (i.e. Ratnasimha) is called उन्मद-वादि-वृन्द-दलन: "the vanquisher of the host of proud disputants" (n. 66. verse 11), as has been already observed.

Both of these *Pras'astis* prove that the ancestors of the modern S'rivastavya Kayasthas were typical Brahmanas in culture.

68 (i) *Sri-Vastavya Thakkuras:*— *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I., p. 331, l. 3 ; *ibid*, IV, p. 104, ll. 26-27 ; *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, Vol. III, p. 58 ; India Office *Cat. of Sans. MSS.* by J. Eggeling, Part II, p. 536 (Scribe of MS. No. 1680) ; *JRAS*, 1927, p. 695 ; Ajayagadha Stone Inscription of V. S. 1345 deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 247 of the *Appendix to Ep. Ind. Vol. V.)*, last line ; N. Vasu's *Kayasthera varna-nirnaya*, p. 132, (where Thakuras of *Para-s'arma* are mentioned); *Report on the Search of Hindi MSS., (for 1905)*, p. 20, l. 28. No. 22 ; p. 32, l. 8, No. 34 ; p. 33, ll. 6-7, No. 35 ; *ibid (for 1906-8)*, p. 197, l. 25, No. 69 (b) p. 208, l. 20, No. 77 ; p. 249, ll. 8-9, No. 91 (h); p. 286, l. 9, No. 117 ; etc. ; etc.

(ii) *Mathura-Kayastha Thakkuras:—Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 57, l. 6 ; *Jesalmere MSS.* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXI), p. 49; etc.

(iii) *Gauda-Kayastha-Thakkura:—Ep. Ind.*, Vol XI, p. 41, l. 34.

(iv) *Karana-Kayastha Thakkura:—Cat. of Buddhist MSS.*, Vol. I, ed. by Pandita Haraprasad Sastri (Calcutta, 1917). p. 21 (Scribe of MS. No. 8067).

[v] *Other Kayastha or Karanika Thakkuras* of unspecified sub-division :—*Ep. Ind*, Vol IV, p. 106, 107, l. 24 ; *ibid*, p. 111, l. 22 ; *ibid*, p. 114, L., and Vol. V., p. 116, l. 28 ; Vol. VII., p. 100, l. 37 ; Vol. VIII, p. 153, l. 21 (*cf.* Vol. IV. p. 104, ll. 26-27), *ibid*, p. 158, l. 30

(cf. Vol. IV, p. 126, l. 31 and p. 128, l. 31—where the same person is raised from the post of a *Karanika* to the more exalted post of the *Aksapatalika* and *Mahaksapatalika* respectively ; and *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 20*)*; Vol. XIII, p. 220, l. 34 ; XVIII, p. 223, l. 36 ; *ibid*, p. 226, l. 32 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 195, 200, 202, 204, 206, 208, 209; Vol. XVII, *(*1888*)*, pp. 226-228, ll. 18-19 ; *ibid*, p. 236, ll. 45, 46 [where the *Karanika* Dharesvara is a *Mahathakkura*], 47 ; etc ; etc.

Karanika which means 'one in a *Karana* or office', *i. e.* an official, is merely a synonym of *Kayastha (vide Ep. Ind.*, Vol I., pp, 77, 81, l. 26 ; p. 85, n. 60 ; p. 129, l. 27 ; pp, 330-338, ll. 1-4 ; Vol. IV., p. 104, ll. 26-27 ; Vol. VIII, p. 153, l. 21 ; pp. 158 and 159, l. 24 *(cf.* Vol. V, p. 116, l. 28 and Vol. IV, p. 114, L.).

69. *E. g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p, 184, ll. 314-318 ; Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 263, [*vide* n. 1, ii, above]. Examples of S'ivaratha, Sahela, Gauraka, etc., are already given above under the detailed examination of the*Rajatarangini*.

70. *E. g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 42 ll. 27-28 ; p. 178, l. 39 ; VI. p. 33, l. 58 ; X. pp. 150, 152, ll. 65-67.

71. *Manu.* VII. 58 ; VIII. 9, 11, 20 ; *Brhatparasara-samhita,* XII. 10-12 ; *Katyayana* and *S'ukra* iv. 14, quoted in the *Mitaksara* on *Yajnavalkya*, II. 2-3 ; *S'ukraniti*, II. 426-427 to be read along with 69-70 ; *Viramitrodaya*, Vyavaharadhyaya [Jivananda's edition, 1875], p. 33, from l. 9 to the bottom ; p. 35 ; and p. 43, ll. 1-6, and 10-21 ; etc.

72. Kayastha castes, *e. g.* (a) *Brahma-kayasthas* known also as *Citragupta-vams'iya-kayasthas*, sub-divided into 12 kinds Srivastavya, Gauda, Naigama, etc ; (b) *Prabhus*, sub-divided into Dhruva, Candraseniya and Patane Prabhus ; etc.

It has been customary among the Kayasthas of all sections to make a strict investigation about the purity of blood of both the paternal and maternal lines of that particular family with which another family has to enter into marriage relations ; and, in case of any defect or doubt discovered in either party, no marriage bonds could take place. Intermarriages between different sub-sections were prohibited until the recent times. Even now, there is no question of the intermarriages between different castes of Kayasthas, e, g. between Prabhus and Brahma-Kayasthas.

73. As is already proved by the first part of the present paper and notes 54-59 and 69-70.

The word *Kayastha*, from its beginning, was used only to denote an *individual title* as in Visnusmrti and

other ancient books that mention it. The oldest inscriptions, so far discovered, mention it in the compounded form of *Prathama-kayastha*, clearly an official title, with the names of Sambapala (443-4 and 448 A. C.), Vipra-pala (476-495 A. C.) and Skandapala (543-44 A. C.) in the Gupta copperplates found at Damodarpur, Dist. Dinajpur, in Bengal (see note 56 above, and *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 193). From the 2nd down to the 8th century of the Christian era, this was perhaps the only sense in which the word *Kayastha* was used throughout the length and breadth of India in books and epigraphs [*e. g.*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 75, l. 49 ; Vol. XIII, p. 119, l. 25 ; the well-known Kanasva Ins., *Ind. Ant.*, XIII (1884), pp. 162-65 ; etc.].

This sense continued for several centuries more *e. g. 9th century-Ep. Ind.*; IV, 250, 47 ; *10th century*--XIX, 248, A 26 and B 28 ; *11th century*—I, 36, 29 ; I, 146, 31 ; I, 262, 33 ; III, 344, 42 ; III, 350, 47 ; VIII, 143, 43 ; XI, 95, 38 ; XI, 152, 71-72 ; *12th century*—I, 147, 34 ; IV, 101, 28 ; VIII, 97, 38 ; X, 48, 6 ; *13th century*—XVI, 276, 8 ; *14th century*--XVI, 10, f. n. 1 ; etc.]. But in the meantime the idea of the particular families was also associated often with the word *Kayastha* as will be shown by the following examples :—

वालभकायस्थवंशजातेन (*9th century*—E. I., VI, 33, 57 ; XVIII, 251, 77), गौडकायस्थवंशे (*10th century*—XII, 61, 21), श्री-गौडान्वयकायस्थ० (*12th century*—Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. II, p. 233 ; E. I., XI, 41, 37-38 ; *14th century*—XII, 27, 33), माथुरान्वयकायस्थ० (*14th century*—XII, 46, 15), मथुरापुरीविनिर्गतकायस्थकठारियान्ववाय० (*13-th century*—XIX, 50, 9-10), श्रीवास्तव्यकुलोद्भूतकायस्थ० (*12th century*—IV, 101, 27-28 ; IV, 104, 26-27), नेगमान्वयकायस्थ० (*12th century—Ind. Ant.*, XL (1911), p. 147 ; *13th century—Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, History of Gujarat, p. 478, No. XII, l. 9), कायस्थो नेगमान्वये (*13th century—Bom. Gaz.*, Ditto, p. 477, No. X, l. 7), etc.

Sometimes the words like *kula* or *vams'a* were compounded with the word *Kayastha* itself, wherefrom some specific family-name was to be understood :—*e. g.*, मथुराभिजन० कायस्थवंश० (*12th century—Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV., p. 201) ; and कायस्थवंशप्रसवः (*13th century—Bom. Gaz.*, as above, p. 478, No. XI, l. 2), where undoubtedly नेगम is meant. To this category also belong the following cases :—कायस्थकुलभूषणः (*11th century*—E. I., III, 224, 27), शुद्धकायस्थवंश्यः (*11th century*—XIV, 195, 35),

दिविरकुलजेन12 *(12th or 13th century*—I, 65,), कायस्थकुलाव-तंस० (Mathurādāsa, the author of the *Vṛsabhānujā* Nāṭikā published in the Kāvyamālā Series), कायस्थवंशभूः (Caṇḍa or Cāmuṇḍa, the author of a medicinal work *Rasasaṅketakalikā*, who belonged to the नेगम family), and श्रीकायस्थविशालवंश० *(close of the 14th century*—P. Peterson's 5th Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle, 1892-95, p. 71).

In this transitional period the word *jāti* began to be combined with the words बालम्य, नेगम, etc., *e. g.*, बालस्य(म्य)जातिकायस्थ *(11th century*—E. I., XIV, 303, 53), भट्टग्रामीयश्रीसकसेनजातीयकायस्थश्रीश्रीचन्द्रपुत्रकर्मठावलेखिश्रीमद्धीधरकस्य *(12th century—Arch. Sur. Rep.*, Vol. III, p. 59), नेगम-जातीयकायस्थ (Colophon to the *Rasasaṅketakalikā)*, etc. शकसेन is used as a family name in an inscription of the 10th century *(Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 89, verse 3). Thus what were formerly known as mere 'families', later on, came to pass as 'castes'.

The word *jāti* appears in compound with the word *Kāyastha* since about the 13th century, *e. g.*, माथुरान्वयकायस्थजातीयठक्कुर० *(E. I.*, XI, 57, 6) and कायस्थजातीय-वालम्यान्वय *(Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, His. of Guj., p. 474, No. VII, l. 5), where *jāti* perhaps means only a 'class' and not a 'caste' as with Sakasena, Naigama etc. The expression कायस्थज्ञातीय० occurring on p. 39 of Peterson's *5th Report of S. MSS.* and referring itself to the last quarter of the 12th century may be classed with कायस्थवंश० or कायस्थकुल, as ज्ञाति means 'brotherhood'.

Vidyāpati of Mithilā *(circa*, 1360-1450 A. C.) in his *Kīrtilatā* (composed about 1380 A. C.), Pallava II, p. 32 (Nāgarī-pracāriṇī Series, No. 36, edited by Prof. Baburama Sakasena), writes as follows :—

"वहुल वम्हण वहुल कांग्रंथ (कायत्थ) राजपुत्तकुल वहुल
वहुल जाति मिलि वइस चप्परि"

Here the author has not used the word *jāti* or *kula* with the words *Brāhmaṇa* and *Kāyastha* as with *Rājputta* and *many others*. But this fact cannot be emphasized for our present discussion, since the poet was constrained by the rules of poetry and might not

have intended any reflection on the social condition of his times. Yet one thing is sure that he places these people in an order which is the true index of his contemporary popular view. I mean that Kāyasthas were then considered to be below the Brāhmaṇas and above the Rajputs and all other castes.

74. *Brahma-Kayasthas* are even to-day in the majority. Besides the facts shown in the present paper, references to the passage quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* under the name of *Vyomasamhita* (ब्रह्मकायमभुद्भूतः कायस्थो ब्रह्म-संज्ञकः);to the traditional belief of the Upper Indian Kayasthas (of 12 sections) recorded by Rev. M. A. Sherring in his *Hindu Tribes and Castes* as early as 1872 A. C. (see n. 1, iv, above); to p. 310 of the *same book* (on the Suryadhvaja Kayasthas); to Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 35 (on the family of the Naigamas) and No, 27 (on the donation of the Devagrahara made to a *Divira*); to *Ind. Ant.*, XV; (1886), p. 40, verse 85 (on the donation of 'the half of the Deva-padas' made to a Kayastha Suri, i. e. Pandit, named Lohabhaṭa); to Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, Kutch, p. 241 (on the 'priestly' profession of Kayasthas); to Crooke's *Tribes and Castes*, Vol. III, p. 160 (on Kanyuri or Khanduri, a class of Hill Brahmanas who are called Pahari or Hill Kayasthas); to *E. I.*, Vol. I, p. 47, verses 15 and 19 and India Office *Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, Part II, p. 535, (on their 'teaching' occupation); to *Archaeological Survey of India* (New Imperial Series), Vol. XVI,— Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VIII,—*Glossary* of Terms and Proper Names, p. 369, l. 35 ("Kayasthas=a sub-castes of the Brahmanas"); to *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part I, Gujarat Population (Hindus), p. 60, ll. 20-22, 28; p. 61, ll. 25-29; p. 64, ll. 37-39; p. 65, ll. 21-24 (and f. n.); p. 66, ll. 17-21; p. 67, ll, 38-41, 49-50 p. 68, ll. 1-2; etc. (on the full Brahmana customs and rites prevalant ;among the *Brahma-Kayasthas*); to the *Brahmanotpattimartanda* (mentioning *Kaysthayana* under the *Upa-Brahmanas*); to the *Citravams'a-nirnaya* (by M. Kanta Prasad S'rivastavya of 3/7 — Kali Mahal, Benares), Part I, p. 43; and to the *Kayastha-patrika*, Gaya, December 30, 1927, p. 9, column 1 (on Valmika, Ganda, etc), would also tell in favour of their Brahmana origin.

For '*Kayastha' Brahmanas*, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI (Nasik), p. 41.

75. The Prabhus hold different kinds of traditions and claims of their Ksatriya origin :—see the *Sahyadrikhanda*, Adhya-

yas 27, 28 and 36; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII (Poona), Part I, p. 192, l. 4; Vol. XX. (Sholapur), p. 44, ll. 29-30; etc.

For the Valabha Kayasthas, see the *Udayasundarikatha* by Soddhala, p. 10, l. 22; p. 11, ll. 19-28; p. 12, ll. 2, 6-15; p. 152, ll. 3-4.

The number of these Prabhus is very meagre as compared to that of the *Brahma-Kayasthas*.

76. The writer castes known as *Velalis* or Pilles and Mudliars, and *Telengs* claim to be Vaisyas:—see the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII (Poona), Part I, p. 256, ll. 6-7 and p. 257, l. 2; Vol. XX, (Sholapur), p. 45, l. 10 and p. 46, ll. 6-7

Mahakavi Sri'-Haricandra, the author of the *Dharmas'arma-bhyudaya* (Kavyamala, No. 8), who was a Jain by faith, informs us (p. 163, vv. 1-2) that he belonged to the *Nomaka* (?) family and that his father Ardradeva was known as a *Kayastha*. Here the word *Kayastha* is not used as a caste-name, since no Kayastha caste ever contained any subdivision known as '*Nomaka*'. From the facts that the author was a Jain and that the Siyadoni Inscription (*Ep. Ind.*), Vol. I., p. 173, l. 5; p. 174, l. 11; p. 175, ll. 16, 17, 19, 20; p. 176, l. 23; p. 177, l. 31; p. 178, l. 37) mentions '*Nemaka*' to have been a caste (*Jati*) of merchants, it is probable that the poet Haricandra's father, the Kayastha Ardradeva was a Vais'ya by caste. The difference in the spelling of *Nomaka* and *Nemaka* may be due to the wrong deciphering of one and the same word in either of the original records, *i. e.* the *Dharmas'armabhyudya* and the Siyadoni Ins., or to the mistake of the engraver of the latter, who had to incise deeds of widely different dates on one and the same stone.

The late Lala Puttu Lal Hakeem, a Jain physician of Farrukhabad (U. P.), was descended from a traditional *Qanungo* family as is clear from his family tree. *Qanungo* families are generally found among Kayasthas. May it be conluded that Jaina Vais'yas have assimilated some Kayastha families among themselves?

77. On the list of Brahmanas to be excluded from officiating or feasting at religious ceremonies:—

वर्ज्यान् प्रवक्ष्ये त्वथ रोगि-वैरि-हीनाधिकाङ्गान् क्षितवान् कृतघ्नान्।
नक्षत्रशास्त्रेण च जीवमानान् भैषज्यवृत्त्यापि च राजभृत्यान्॥
संगीत-कायस्थ-कुशीद-वृत्त्या वेदक्रयेणापि कवित्ववृत्त्या॥.....

78. *Cf.* एषां वृत्तीराह वसिष्ठः—सूतानां मन्त्रिकायस्थत्व-स्त्रीजीवन-वस्त्रपूरणानि॥ मन्त्रित्वं, कायस्थो लेखकस्तत्त्वं च॥

—(Jagaddhitecchu Press, Poona, Edition, S'aka, 1816), p. 94-95.

79. The earliest reference to Citragupta in the Ancient Sanskrit literature is to be found in the sentence "ॐचित्रगुप्त तर्पयामि" under the *tarpana* of Yama and his retinue occurring in the बोधायनधर्मसूत्र (Bibliotheca Sanskrita, Mysore, No. 34, p. 236, sec. 25; *Smrtinam Samuccaya,* Anandas'rama Press, Poona, बोधायनस्मृति, p. 455, Pras'na II, Adhyaya V, s'loka (? sutra) 140). आश्वलायनीय-गृह्यपरिशिष्ट, of an uncertain date, also mentions Brahma and Citragupta as the *Adhidevata* and *Pratyadhidevata*, respectively, of Ketu, the last of the nine planets and describes their individual forms in ii, 4-6 (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1869), pp. 292, 295 and 297. Baudhayana is generally believed by scholars to have written in the 4th century B. C.

Citragupta was always regarded to be the divine minister (कायस्थ) of Yama-Dharmaraja or identical with the latter in Puranic accounts, until about the Mughal times of Indian History when, for the first time, he seems to have been made the *first ancestor* of the North Indian Kayasthas of twelve kinds, *viz.*, Ahisthanas, Ambasthas, Bhatta-nagaras, Gaudas, Karanas, Kula-s'resthas, Mathuras, Naigamas, S'akasenas, S'ri-Vastavyas, Surya-dhvajas and Valmikas. Versions of the story of the origin of Kayasthas from Citragupta, yet traced, are very recent in date.

S'riharsa, a poet of the twelfth century, introduces Citragupta as *the Kayastha of Yama* and does not refer to him as the ancestor of any Kayastha caste or families, in his *Naisadhiyacarita*—"दृग्गोचरोऽभूदथ चित्रगुप्तः कायस्थ उच्चेर्गुणतस्तदीयः ॥"(XIV. 66). Sri Jalhana Thakkura, a Kayastha, born of the S'rivastavya section *(Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 104, l. 27*)*, in a Copperplate grant of Samvat 1171 (Monday, January 11, 1115 A. C.) made by Govindacandra of Kanauj to a Bharadvaja Brahmana, Dayi S'arma son of Thakkura Mahakara and grandson of Thakkura Kaku, writes about himself as follows :—"करणिकोद्गतो विद्वांश्चित्रगुप्तोपमो गुणैः । यशसे जह्वणः श्रीमानलिखत्ताम्रकं मुदा ॥"—'The illustrious Jalhana, the learned, born of a *Karanika*, and resembling Citragupta in worth, wrote the grant with delight, for his fame' *(Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 153, l. 21*)*. Evidently, the S'rivastavya Thakkura Jalhana did not consider God Citragupta as his forefather ; otherwise it would be more direct, proper and poetic to say "चित्रगुप्तान्वयो विद्वान्" in place of "करणिकोद्गतो विद्वान्" which latter expression points to a profession rather than a caste. Moreover, it involves a certain amount of insolence on the part of a mortal descendant to stand in comparison with his divine ancestor, whom he worships.

Again, the following verses of Ksemendra definitely show that Citragupta and the agents of the Death were merely the standards to compare the *Kayasthas* or officials in certain good or bad respects :—

एते हि कालपुरुषाः प्रत्युदण्डनिपातदृतलोकाः ।
ग्रामनगरगतपिशाचाश्चरन्ति भूर्जध्वजा लोके ॥
एतेषि चित्रगुप्तान्विवधियो गुप्तकारिणो विविराः ।
रेखामात्रविनाशात् 'म'-हितं कुर्वन्ति ये 'र'-हितम् ॥

—Kalavilasa, Canto V, vv. 5 and 11.

योऽयं तीक्ष्णात्तिपटले चित्रगुप्तविचेष्टितः ।
निःशेषजीवनगतङ्कविधायी निर्गुणान्तकः ॥

—Narmamala, Parihasa II, v. 21.

Apparently, the myth of Citragupta being the grandsire of the Kayasthas was quite unknown in the times of Ksemendra ; otherwise a satirical poet like him would never miss the opportunity of availing himself of it in such a context, in order to express the idea more emphatically by expressly mentioning that the Kayasthas 'as descended from citragupta' inherit his nature, instead of identifying them with him (as in Kalavilasa, V. II).

Again, Soddhala, the author of the *Udayasundarikatha*, who (on p. 8) mentions Parasurama's persecution of Ksatriyas in connection with the descent of certain Kayastha families from the Ksatriya caste, and gives (on pp. 10-11) a legendary account of the incarnation of '*the Kayastha*' an attendent of S'iva, in the person of Kaladitya, the alleged brother of King S'iladitya of Valabhi, and the first ancestor, according to the author's version, of the Valabha family of Kayasthas,—calling his own great-grandfather, Candapati to have descended from the family of S'iva (उमेशवंशावतीर्णश्च),—thus exhausting all the legendary and historical accounts of the descent of various Kayasthas as were current in his times, makes no mention of Citragupta in their connection. This fact is very significant.

These things show that the stories of Citragupta's lineage were coined long afterwards.

80. The word *Brahma-Kayastha* is used profusely by M. Kamtaprasada of Benares in his writings on Kayasthas. It occurs as part of the name of a Hindi manuscript, "ब्रह्मकायस्थकौमुदी", by Paramananda Pradhana, a S'rivastavya Brahma-Kayastha of Tikamgarh (C. I.), who wrote it in 1906 with other 34 books on

various topics that he produced between 1885 and 1907 (—See the *Report on the Search of Hindi MSS. for 1906-8*, Appendix I, pp. 357-58). Pt. Laksminarayana Sarasvata wrote his **"कायस्थ-चविमल्ल-द्रुम-कुठार"** in 1873 and **"कायस्थ-कुल-भास्कर"** in 1872 (which were printed in the N. K. Press, Lucknow). In these books he has, in order to refute, quoted, in full, the *Vyavastha* of the Bengal Pandits that was written in 1844 and read out before the Kasiraja Dharmasabha by the Bengali Pandit Taracarana S'arma on Phalguna Sukla 14, V. S. 1930 (1874 A C.). The *Bengali Vyavastha*, towards its close, has twice used the name *Brahma-Kayastha* for the descendants of Citragupta and has also quoted the verse **"ब्रह्मकायसमुद्भूतः"**—etc. (substituting the expression **कायस्थो वर्णसंज्ञकः** for **कायस्थो ब्रह्मसंज्ञकः**), with the remark **"इति व्योमसंहितायां माधवाचार्यधृतवचनम्"**[1]. The verse with the remark seems to have been borrowed from the *Sabda-kalpa-druma* (which reads **ब्रह्मसंज्ञकः**), which also is cited, for other things, in the said *Vyavastha*. This shows that the word *Brahma-Kayastha* has been in use for more than a century. It must be older still. I have not been able to trace out the *Vyoma-samhita*. The verse having gained currency under the name of Madhavacarya might lead one to think that the name *Brahma-Kayastha* is as old as the 14th century.

Here I must not forget to thank Messrs. Jauhari and Sinha, the clerks of the Philosophy and History Departments of our University for typing the major part of this paper to be read at Patna. But my pupil Pt. Devicharana Nigam of the M.A. Final (Sanskrit Literature) Class deserves a special mention for making a more correct and final typed copy of it, even at the cost of his most precious time.

R. M. Shastri.